623 find in the institutions themselves is also found in their names and in those of their representatives.....Very seldom, however, could a single representative impose his own will, and the will was collectively that of the representatives of the dharfiqin. Each representative had a compact group of men behind him to back him up in his decisions, and for this reason the Rifian governmental system was in reality an oligarchic one.[94] Hence the importance of the iziddjifen, which has not diminished even in Spanish times (1935), as the present-day mqaddim, or village headman, is a decorative figure and a confidant of the tribal qa'id, if not a plaything of the iziddjifen, or indeed their servant. It is not rare for interventors (Spanish tribal administrators) to see, on their arrival at a jma'th a representation of this fact, with the men in file and the mqaddim at their head. So far, so good; but this external apparatus is nothing but a masquerade. There is no more than an absurd[95] functionary, the mqaddim, to whom no one pays attention save for a half dozen friends, relatives and the poor, who have only collected together under threats; but it is far more difficult to find the iziddjifen, who continue to meet in their habitual place or do their best to hide in their houses only to reappear after the representatives of the Makhzin (i.e. the interventor and his mkhaznis) have left, in order to smell out the bad news brought by the latter and to look for ways to annul it!

623 621 591 793 The aziddjif or amghar (pl. imgharen), the fqih, the aquwwan and the amarras, or storehouse guardian, are the proper functionaries or notables in a jma'th, an admirable economic organization[96], the administration of which does not cost its members a single cent, for

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[114] 135--Although he does not couch them in anthropological language, Blanco here elucidates certain principles which are so common to most segmentary systems as to have become anthropological platitudes, since Evans-Pritchard's work among the Nuer. They were not, however, platitudes in 1935, and Blanco's perspicacity in stating them (even if obliquely) should be commended.

[113] 136--For competent discussions on the racial affiliations of the Rifians, see Carleton S. Coon, The Races of Europe, New York: Macmillan, 1939, and Coon, 1951, op. cit., pp. 156-7.
[144] But why should the Rifians be aware of their own racial affiliations well enough to "forget" them? They know they are whites, and they know they are Berbers (the latter example of self-knowledge is particularly well developed at the present day, since the independence of Morocco, and contains definite political overtones); and these facts, to them, are sufficient, genealogies and traditions explaining all the others.

137--Ghis, in Moroccan Arabic, means "mud", and a better name for the river in question could not be found.

138--The sixth "clan" of the Jbil is in reality made up of three subclans which are "brothers" of the members of two of the other five "ancient" clans which Blanco mentions above: Aith Turirth are "brothers" of Aith Yusif w 'Ari, Timarzga are "brothers" of Aith 'Ari (Aith Yusif w 'Ari and Aith 'Ari in turn form the two top segments of one major clan, that of Aith Yusif w 'Ari and Aith 'Ari--it has no proper name, on this level, of its own), and Aith 'Arus are "brothers" of Aith Hadhifa. These three subclans, being contiguous to each other in the mountain massif of the Jbil Hamam and discontiguous to their larger "clan brothers" mentioned above, formed a single administrative unit under a shaikh during Spanish times.

139--Blanco's recommendation to do away with the khalifa or representative of the qa'id in order to make for greater administrative simplicity was not acted upon by the Spanish authorities.

● [822] [184] 140--The office of jari or village headman is one which exists only among the Aith Waryaghar. In all other tribes, the village headman is the mqaddim, who in Aith Waryaghar became the head of the administratively created "sub-fraction", while the "fraction" itself was under a shaikh. The creation and insertion by the Spaniards of another tribal [648] office-holder on a level between that of village and clan (where no such office-holder had existed previously) was their answer to the greater segmentary intricacy, larger territorial units and greater population of the Aith Waryaghar. And last, but not least, Blanco's division of the total tribal territory into three blocs, each under its own qa'id, and each perforce following territorial rather than segmentary lines (owing to the frequent geographical discontinuity of subsegments), was, in the last analysis, the best and indeed the only way to make for an effective tribal administration.

141--This phrase comes from Hanoteau and Letourneux' famous reference to the Thajm 'aith of Kabylia as "la pierre angulaire de l'edifice berbère".

427 241 621 person took to the storeroom the share of grain which had been allotted to him.

621 623 465 793 622 794 623 621 613 The fqih was contracted and paid through this share of grain. The mqaddim's job was gratuitous and was reduced to the acquisition of mats, lighting, buckets, brooms, small repairs, the storing of the harvest and the payment of the fqih, with due notice given to the jma'th. For other expenses, such as additions and improvements on the building, etc., there had to be prior agreement on the part of the jma'th, i.e. acceptance of these matters by the various lineage heads.

794 423 From this simple mechanism and the character of these properties resulted their scrupulous and austere administration by lay tribesmen (author's italics), which any other procedure would have been hard put to surpass. The result was that not only were the summary needs of this sort, today unsettled, catered to, but that it was rare to find a mosque which did not possess surplus stores good for five or six years. Hence this constituted a true estate, a localistic tie which everyone voluntarily tried to improve and which today it is possible that we (i.e. the Spanish administration) have disrupted.

423 794 197 It has been said that our (i.e. the Spanish) occupation and action have forced the discovery and have focused upon habus (religious and/or charitable endowment) properties which were either hidden or were on the point of disappearance. In the (tribal) countryside, this is either an error or an infantilism. Not only have we (the administration) discovered nothing of the sort, but we have confused things a great deal, as anyone who reads this paper, or rather, anyone

them, and to remove positions which might become complicated through useless centralization or confused through disadvantageous classification.

Today Rifian society lacks its own organs of expression, sheltering its ill humor from the picturesque pages of a partisan and slanderous (Spanish) press, a collector of those disaffected and rancorous individuals of poor mentality. In its turn the Makhzin becomes strengthened through a milieu which is hostile through incomprehension. It neutralizes its delegates (mqaddmin), the manner of their appointment, their mediating authority and their connection with the jma'th. Even should he like to do so, the mqaddim cannot, as in other positions, undertake to defend the Makhzin: it is possible that he does not know how, nor that it occurs to him, nor that he would even dare to do so. What, then, remains of his position? That of a local community guardian or of a poor (bad) or fearful informer, if not, indeed, tendentious for some individuals or for others. This is very little, and the progress made in the rural nuclei is nil: communal property is disappearing, and pastureland and brushwood-land are both getting further away and more reduced, while the mosques are cut into pieces, the (inter-community) paths are erased, the wells are emptied and the jma'th is becoming ruined, ceasing to act in its useful communal functions and endeavoring to become a paid or salaried parasite.

Nonetheless, even as strong as was Rifian Custom, so clear, simple and beneficial that it lasted for ages, it appears almost as if when the official and orderly crust was scratched, it (Custom) was unable to obtain the confidence of the tribes or even to fulfill

574 (perhaps to deliver their portion of the expenses necessary to maintain
689 the guest), and in case one of them is opposed to going, he shall be fined a goat or one duro.

695 (Blanco: paragraph f) Valid and complete testimony. Whoever
784 should change or alter this agreement shall answer to God. Both the
693 undersigned notaries know, personally and by name, all the parties who effected the present agreement.

685 (Blanco: paragraph g) In case anyone should open a pond or an
312 irrigation ditch (thus letting out the water), he shall be fined one duro for the pond and one mithqal for the irrigation ditch.

686 (Blanco: paragraph h) Regarding the contract with the schoolmaster, if anyone should be opposed (to contributing his share to the scholmaster's annual ration of barley), he shall be fined 10 uqiyyas.

689 (Blanco: paragraph i) If those mentioned earlier in the present agreement should assemble and agree on some useful matter, and if in this case there should be anyone (of the members of the abovementioned jama'a) who is opposed (to carrying it out), he shall be fined one duro.

622 (Blanco: paragraph j) Their shaikh is 'Ali bin Muhammad bin 'Azzuz. Everything that he orders (literally, "says") must be done
693 (literally, "will be"). The parties attending know the value of the present agreement, and in virtue of this, both the undersigned notaries bear witness that they are in a perfect state of legal capacity (i.e. of sound minds and memories) (in order to be able to effect the present
805 agreement) and that they know them. On the first (day) of Safar al-Khair of the year 1285 (May 24, 1868).

000 The slave of God--may He be glorified--Muhammad al-Khattabi and 'Umar bin Muhammad, etc.

623 554 legislate, but it is not maintained by conferring distinctions on them, converting them into a caste, nor by giving them stipends for their work. For this same reason, the council-members have, perhaps, greater esteem among their neighbors. On the other hand, the jma'th punishes [581] disobedience to its decrees, but it does not impose a penalty on those who disobey the shaikh, who is simply a representative of the people with outside denomination expressed in writing (i.e. in Arabic), in view of the difficulty of expressing this in his own language.[44] That [622] he is a simple titular and outside arbiter is shown by the fact that his function, in Arabic terminology and organization, would be that of a mqaddim.

607 554 623 [578] This qanun is an excellent example of the beginnings of a trend toward personal power concentrated in a single individual, the shaikh, charged with the representation of the jma'th and the execution of its agreements;.....and we may perceive indistinctly the intrigue and the deaf struggle between this personage and the rest of the community, who are jealous of his attributes. In the first draft, the document is declared valid (Blanco: paragraph f, in text); but in the oversights pointed up in the re-reading of the document, and certainly at the shaikh's request, they consent to the fact that obedience to him be recommended in the addenda; but they have been careful, in the preceding paragraph (paragraph i), to state that only they can make resolutions or define crimes and misdemeanors through enforcement of law and punishment, always granted, of course, that such enforcement be useful (author's italics); but neither the shaikh nor anyone else can invent or contrive more than his council, because only they are capable

621 623 Each dchar has its own jemas to which all adult men are theoretically eligible. Its political powers are rather negligible at present and jemas meetings are held infrequently. The jemas meets to make decisions on the allotment of the community for the upkeep of the local mosque or to take up a local subscription to buy an animal for ceremonial purposes or to voice community feeling towards proposed projects of the provincial government. Each dchar is administered by a moqaddem who is appointed by the national government. While the appointment is made by the government it is always of a local notable, prominent and acceptable at the local level. The moqaddem may and usually does have administrative responsibility over more than one dchar. Taking again the Ibuqquyen as our example we find that four moqaddems of the fraction of Izmourin are responsible for 9 dchars, that the three of Axgar are in charge of 13 dchars, and the two of Tagidit for 14 dchars.

621 622 657 622 631 619

623 [554] Although theoretically every adult male is supposed to have a voice in the local council, in practice the younger men or the poor do not play a very active role and decisions are for the most part guided by the local notables. In traditional days, before pacification, these councils had a great deal of political power and were active in adjudicating quarrels, property settlements, and so on. Since these functions have now been assumed by officials of the Moroccan government, the council's power has been considerably reduced although its decisions still carry a moral authority of some substance.

623 178 [657]